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There was described in some of the correspondence I have had with agencies—and I am sure he has copies of it, but I did not get all the answers—a case in which the Redwood National Bank of California was trying to obtain a charter for a bank. It filed its application for a charter on June 22, 1962.

This charter was filed by the Redwood National Bank of San Rafael, Calif. The application was routinely filed by its attorney, Mr. Roderick Martinelli.

The bank's application for a charter was approved on September 15, 1962. The bank opened its doors on January 5, 1963.

What gives me concern and the question I have is: After the application had been filed, one of the corporate officers was advised by their attorney Mr. Martinelli, that one of the friends or relatives of one of the proposed stockholders of the bank had told him that in order to get the charter approved it would be better to hire a Washington lobbyist at \$5,000. He could not say why it was necessary.

Anyway, they had to have the charter, so they agreed to pay the \$5,000 to the Washington lobbyist who presumably could help them.

When the check was sent to this Washington lobbyist, the check was made out to him, but it was not mailed to him. On the contrary, the check was left in Baker's office. After the check was left in Baker's office the lobbyist came in and endorsed the check. After he had endorsed it the records show that Bobby Baker took the check and went down to Mr. Brenkworth's office in the Senate Disbursing Office and cashed it and that Baker picked up 50 \$100 bills for the check.

Now where and why did Mr. Baker enter into this transaction?

Did he get a part of the fee, or just what was his part?

I understand that the lobbyist says he ultimately got all of the money. To what extent did the committee call on the bank or the lobbyist to get all the details of this strange transaction? By the way, this lobbyist was a former employee of the Senate, so both could be called. To what extent did the committee pursue that line? I was very much concerned that any bank would feel obliged to pay \$5,000 in this manner. I checked with the Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. Saxon, and I have a letter from him in which he states that at no time did he ever hear from either Mr. Baker or the lobbyist to whom reference was made. He did not know that they were even lawyers of record. So, apparently they received \$5,000 for doing nothing.

I am wondering who it was that thought it was necessary to pay this \$5,000 to get a charter to this bank and who did really get the money.

Did the committee question Mr. Baker on this strange deal?

I know the committee was aware of this transaction long before I found it.

I have the greatest respect for the Senator from North Carolina. He has some information in his files, or at least the committee has, which contains the an-

swers I should like to get. Surely he would not overlook the significance of the \$5,000 check paid to a Washington lobbyist to get a charter, and particularly when the committee was advised that Mr. Baker cashed the check.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. In answer to the Senator's question, I am sorry, but that is something that I had not heard of before. I know nothing about it. If the Senator would give us more information, I assure the Senator that it will be checked. We still have two investigators on the committee—one Republican and one Democrat. I know that one is Republican. I do not know what the other one is.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I respectfully suggest that the Senator check with his investigators. This information has been in their possession for some time, and they must have had my correspondence.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. What does the Senator mean by stating they had copies of them?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Perhaps it would have been far better if we had kept it on the basis of not trying to intercept my mail before I got it.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I resent that statement. I did not intercept anything. The committee did not intercept anything.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Copies of my mail have been sent to the committee, and I know it is a fact that the committee did have some information in connection with the cashing of this \$5,000 check. I do not mean that the Senator personally knew it, but whether the committee staff got it and figured it was not worth very much in the way of information, I do not know. The check, however, was made out to a Washington lobbyist who the Comptroller of the Currency said did nothing whatever to earn the money as far as he was concerned. The check was delivered to Bobby Baker's office. It was endorsed by the lobbyist and Bobby Baker cashed it and picked up 50 \$100 bills in the Disbursing Office.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I am glad to receive that information. The staff might have had the information. I do not know.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The information is there. Once again I point out that we cannot legislate morals. We know that. We cannot pass a bill which would require a man to file an accurate financial return. We can require the filing of a financial statement listing his assets and liabilities. We can require the filing of an income tax return. The two together, if they are properly filed, would give the select committee the proper authority and material with which it could do the job of preventing a recurrence of the Bobby Baker situation by anyone else in the future who may want to exploit the use of his public office.

I think the very least the Senate could do is to adopt my amendment which, in my opinion, will definitely give the committee all the power it needs to break up the skulduggery that might be going on. And any attempted influence peddling could be picked up in the initial stages.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have not listened to all of the remarks of the Senator this afternoon. But I have listened to many of them. As the Senator knows, I have always been interested in procedural reform that would be much broader in scope than the amendment the Senator from Delaware is offering.

The Senator knows that ever since 1946 I have sought to have whatever disclosure legislation was passed be broad enough to cover the executive branch and the judicial branch as well as the legislative branch of our Government. I still think that we ought to come to grips with this matter by passing a bill—not a resolution, but a bill—that would in effect accomplish what the Senator has in mind.

I do not think that limiting it to the Senate is sufficient. I do not think it is fair to give the people of the country the impression that there is only one branch of our Government—namely the Senate of the United States—that ought to be brought under a full disclosure bill. I think it ought to extend it to all Federal employees. Human failings being what they are, we will find those failings in all branches of the Government. After 20 years here, I say that I am proud to serve in the Senate of the United States.

I think the rotten apples in the Senate barrel have been very, very few in those 20 years. It is an honorable group of men and women who I am proud to serve with at the present time. If there are any misdoings that any of them are guilty of they should be disclosed. I am for legislation that will disclose any such conduct in all branches of the Federal Government.

Relevant to that, although not directly in point as far as the Senator's resolution is concerned, but bearing upon the observation that I have just made about this matter of human failings in government as well as in all other branches of human activity I have a news clipping I wish to read. If we were to try to apply the same standards to American business that the Senator from Delaware suggests and I think they ought to be applied to Government officials, we would be quite surprised at how many business executives would be found wanting.

I have just taken off the ticker a little item that I thought the Senator from Delaware would be interested in. It reads:

WASHINGTON.—Government auditors said today the Air Force built a golf course and riding stables with \$272,000 that Congress thought was being used for a new airbase runway.

The General Accounting Office accused the Air Force of playing fast and loose with the law and its own rules in construction of the recreational facilities at Lockbourne Air Force Base, Ohio.

The GAO auditors said much the same kind of operation was found in the construction of a parking lot for the officers swimming pool at Andrews Air Force Base, Md., and a dog and cat hospital at Lockbourne.

The Air Force conceded that reports to Congress on the Lockbourne golf course may not have represented adequate disclosure;

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but upheld the legality of its actions. The Defense Department said its directives governing such construction were being revised to make sure the rules would not be misinterpreted in the future.

As the Senator from Delaware knows, we constantly receive the kind of alibi by way of a defense which the Air Force offers once again in this instance. The military got caught with their hands in the cookie jar. Now they are going to revise the rules so that the cookie jar will at least be higher on the shelf and it will be more difficult for them to get their hands in it the next time.

I read this news item because I think it is apropos. I think that what we need to face up to is what I have been trying to accomplish for the last 18 years, ever since I first introduced my disclosure bill in 1946—to get a uniform rule that would be applicable to all three branches of the Government. I think it ought to be done by way of a bill, and not by way of a resolution limited in scope to the Senate of the United States but if that is the best we can pass now I shall vote for it.

So our only difference is as to the procedural approach that we ought to make. But there is too much misconduct of the type I have pointed out. This is merely a little introductory statement to a bill of particulars that I shall present before the week is over in connection with the shocking waste of the taxpayers' dollars in connection with the whole military aid program, as well as other features of our foreign aid program. What goes on here, as the item on the ticker shows, exists all over the world on the part of the Pentagon Building. As a result, the American people have been fleeced by the Pentagon Building out of hundreds of millions of dollars for years.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I thank the Senator from Oregon. Normally, I would not agree that the Senate should be singled out alone, but we are dealing with a situation where we have a resolution dealing only with the Senate. That is the reason that my amendment deals only with the Senate. I do so with full recognition that we will not have solved the problem until we lay down some ground rules for the House as well as the Senate.

I wish to emphasize before I conclude that I concur with the Senator. I am proud of my membership in the U.S. Senate. I agree wholly that merely because we have a rotten apple does not mean that the finger of scorn should be pointed at all of us.

I am not presenting this argument today as an indictment against any political party. That political party can only be indicted when it fails to meet its responsibility. I am not unmindful of the fact that we have had corruption over the years under the Republican administration as well as under the Democratic administration. We had the Teapot Dome scandal, as I mentioned the other day. I regret it very much. I would resent anyone using that as an indictment of the Republican Party. I certainly do not join in any such indictment, and I know the Senator from Oregon feels the same way.

As a result of my 18 years of service, I am far more convinced now than I was when I came to Washington that the overwhelming percentage of the American people, whether they be in Government or out of government, whether they be on the Democratic side of the aisle or on the Republican side of the aisle, in the Senate or in the executive branch, are honest and law-abiding citizens who are trying to do a good job. Unfortunately we have a few who forget that public office is a public trust, and it is for those cases that we must create and establish groundrules.

We are all in here, and we have the same objective. It is in that spirit that I have offered the amendment.

Before yielding the floor, I should like to ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

RIOTS IN ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield for a brief statement?

Mr. MORSE. I shall yield only with the understanding that I shall not lose my right to the floor. I should like to make a preliminary statement. I shall make a very brief report to the Senate with regard to the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Western Hemisphere that has just been completed. I agreed that I would make the report earlier today, but it has been impossible to make it earlier. I am perfectly willing to yield to the Senator with the understanding that I do not lose my right to the floor. My report will not take more than 10 or 15 minutes when I make it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KEATING. I appreciate that very much.

I wish to make a short report to the Senate on the very unfortunate happenings in my home city of Rochester, N.Y., which this weekend was the scene of rioting and disorder unprecedented in the city's history.

With the aid of local, county, and State police as well as the National Guard, it appears today that the disturbances have been quelled. It is hoped that in this calm after the storm we will be able rationally and with deliberation to survey what has happened, what has caused this violence, and to take steps to see that such incidents will not recur.

Rochester, like many cities in this Nation, has had its problems. But no progress can be made in dealing with any grievances which exist until law and order are restored.

Lawlessness is the very antithesis of freedom and must not be accepted as a legitimate means of achieving a goal when other lawful means exist.

No one can sanction such methods to bring whatever grievances exist to the attention of the public. Violence can only serve to alienate the support of men of good will which is essential to progress.

Violence did not bring about the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—the greatest stride forward for Negroes in

100 years. It was the patience, determination, and hard work of many—both white and Negro—which effected its passage.

America is a land where the rule of law prevails, a nation where the ballot box and the conference table have been the most effective instruments of change. Extremists who believe that any means justify the end are acting in defiance of our whole tradition of liberty under law.

Responsible civil rights leaders have condemned the riots and violence.

Roy Wilkins, the head of the NAACP, has said that hoodlums who assault, destroy, and steal disgrace the thousands of dedicated young people who went peacefully to jail to advance freedom for 20 million American Negroes. These riots must be condemned in the strongest terms. Respect for the rule of law must be restored. Every possible step must be taken to prevent irresponsible elements in our country from engendering hatred and setting back the cause of civil rights for many decades.

I am very appreciative of the Senators yielding to me for the purpose of making this brief statement, which I felt I should make because this is my home, and I am deeply troubled by the events of the last 3 days.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me briefly?

Mr. MORSE. I yield with the understanding that I shall not lose my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish merely to state, because this is uniquely the home territory of my colleague, that I should like to join with him in supporting the statement which he has made, which I hope for the people of Rochester—and this goes for the great majority of the Negroes in Rochester—will represent the views of both New York Senators. I thank the Senator for uttering them in his usual able and eloquent way.

Mr. KEATING. I am very grateful to my colleague and the Senator from Oregon.

REPORT OF THE NINTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the ninth meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, serving as organ of consultation in application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, was held in Washington, D.C., at the Pan-American Union Building, on July 21-26, 1964.

Mr. President, as time I am sure will show, this was truly a historic meeting. The head of the American delegation was the very able Secretary of State Dean Rusk. As I pointed out on the floor of the Senate last week in a preliminary report of the conference, at which time I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the major address made by Secretary Rusk in his representation of the United States at the conference, our Secretary of State served with great distinction throughout the conference. In fact, I

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was deeply moved time and time again by the leadership and the statesmanship of Secretary of State Rusk as he represented the point of view of the United States in session after session of the conference. It was the privilege of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] and the senior Senator from Oregon to serve as Senate aids to the Secretary of State throughout the conference.

Mr. President, I know that I bespeak the view of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] as well as my own appreciation when I express our thanks to the Senate and to those responsible for giving us this opportunity and high honor to serve as representatives of the Senate at the Conference.

Our colleagues appointed on the House side were Representative ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR., of Alabama, who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the ranking Republican member of the committee, Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California.

I think if the congressional aids were of any assistance at all, their chief assistance was to be found in their symbolism. We sat with the Secretary of State throughout the meetings of the Conference except when congressional business called us away, and he was kind enough to point out that by so doing we symbolized to our Latin American associates the fact that, under our system of government, we have a system of checks and balances. We have a system of three coordinate and coequal branches of government. We symbolized further, as the Secretary was kind enough to say, the fact that behind the President and the Secretary of State was the support of the congressional delegation. The other foreign ministers had a constant reminder that as our Secretary of State joined in pressing for the adoption of resolutions that would be meaningful and would serve clear notice that the United States intends to do what it can to protect the territorial integrity and the sovereign rights of our Latin American allies from any threat of Communist encroachment.

Before I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the documents that represent and constitute the action taken by the Conference, I should like to point out, that, on the key resolution, the resolution that resulted in the agreement to impose sanctions against Cuba for its conduct that constituted an aggression against Venezuela, the vote was 15 in favor and 3 against. Under the charter binding upon the parties to the Conference, it was necessary to have a two-thirds vote. Of the 20 members of the Organization of American States—now that Cuba was expelled at the Conference at Punta del Este—Venezuela, the complaining country, could not vote, which left 19. Out of the 19, 15 voted in favor of the resolution that I shall discuss momentarily, and 3 against. The three voting against that resolution were Chile, Mexico, and Uruguay, with Bolivia abstaining at that point.

There subsequently came the formal approval, not only of this particular resolution, which is known as paragraph 3,

but all the other paragraphs of the final act of Conference agreement. In that plenary session there were 15 yeas, with 4 nays. Bolivia changed its vote on the act itself in the plenary session to a negative vote.

On the individual paragraph-by-paragraph vote on the final act, the paragraph including the sanctions—paragraph 3—was approved by a vote of 14 yeas, with 4 against and 1 abstention.

The four negative votes were Chile, Bolivia, Mexico, and Uruguay—Argentina abstaining. However, Argentina voted in favor of the whole resolution, including the third paragraph, which imposed the sanctions which were approved by the conference.

The heart of the resolution that was adopted reads as follows:

The ninth meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

Having seen the report of the Investigating Committee designated on December 3, 1963, by the Council of the Organization of American States, acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation, and

Considering: That the said report establishes among its conclusions that "the Republic of Venezuela has been the target of a series of actions sponsored and directed by the Government of Cuba, openly intended to subvert Venezuelan institutions and to overthrow the democratic Government of Venezuela through terrorism, sabotage, assault, and guerrilla warfare," and

That the aforementioned acts, like all acts of intervention and aggression, conflict with the principles and aims of the Inter-American system,

Resolves:

1. To declare that the acts verified by the Investigating Committee constitute an aggression and an intervention on the part of the Government of Cuba in the internal affairs of Venezuela, which affect all of the member states.

2. To condemn emphatically the present Government of Cuba for its acts of aggression and of intervention against the territorial inviolability, the sovereignty, and the political independence of Venezuela.

3. To apply, in accordance with the provisions of articles 6 and 8 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the following measures:

These are the sanctions that were voted by the conference by some two-thirds of the conference.

(a) That the governments of the American States not maintain diplomatic or consular relations with the Government of Cuba;

(b) That the governments of the American states suspend all their trade, whether direct or indirect, with Cuba, except in foodstuffs, medicines, and medical equipment that may be sent to Cuba for humanitarian reasons; and

(c) That the governments of the American states suspend all sea transportation between their countries and Cuba, except for such transportation as may be necessary for reasons of a humanitarian nature.

4. To authorize the Council of the Organization of American States, by an affirmative vote of two thirds of its members, to discontinue the measures adopted in the present resolution at such time as the Government of Cuba shall have ceased to constitute a danger to the peace and security of the hemisphere.

5. To warn the Government of Cuba that if it should persist in carrying out acts that possess characteristics of aggression and intervention against one or more of the mem-

ber states of the Organization, the member states shall preserve their essential rights as sovereign states by the use of self-defense in either individual or collective form, which could go so far as to resort to armed force, until such time as the Organ of Consultation takes measures to guarantee the peace and security of the hemisphere.

6. To urge those states not members of the Organization of American States that are animated by the same ideals as the Inter-American system to examine the possibility of effectively demonstrating their solidarity in achieving the purposes of this resolution.

7. To instruct the Secretary General of the Organization of American States to transmit to the United Nations Security Council the text of the present resolution, in accordance with the provisions of Article 54 of the United Nations Charter.

Now, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire final act that was adopted at the ninth meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the act was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FINAL ACT—NINTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SERVING AS ORGAN OF CONSULTATION IN APPLICATION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE

The ninth meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, was held at the headquarters of the Organization of American States, the Pan American Union, in Washington, D.C., from July 21 to 26, 1964.

The Council of the Organization of American States convoked the Meeting by a resolution adopted on December 3, 1963, which reads as follows:

Whereas:

The Council has taken cognizance of the note of the Ambassador, Representative of Venezuela, by means of which his government requests that, in accordance with Article 6 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the Organ of Consultation be immediately convoked to consider measures that must be taken to deal with the acts of intervention and aggression on the part of the Cuban Government affecting the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Venezuela, as well as the operation of its democratic institutions; and

The Ambassador, Representative of Venezuela, has furnished information to substantiate his requests,

The Council of the Organization of American States

Resolves:

1. To convoke the Organ of Consultation in accordance with the provisions of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, to meet on the date and at the place to be fixed in due time.

2. To constitute itself and act provisionally as Organ of Consultation, in accordance with Article 12 of the aforementioned treaty.

3. To inform the Security Council of the United Nations of the text of this resolution.

At the meeting held on the same day, December 3, 1963, the Council of the Organization, acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation, adopted a resolution, whereby a committee was appointed to investigate the acts denounced by Venezuela and to report thereon. The committee, which was composed of representatives of Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, the United States of America, and Uruguay, presented its report at the meeting held on February 24, 1964, by the Council, acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation.

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With respect to the date and place of the Meeting, the Council of the Organization of American States at its special meeting on June 26, 1964, adopted the following resolution:

Whereas:

On December 3, 1963, the Council of the Organization convoked the Organ of Consultation in accordance with the provisions of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, stating that it would meet at a place and at a time to be set in due time.

The Council of the Organization of American States

Resolves:

1. That the Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, shall be held at the headquarters of the Organization of American States.

2. To set July 21, 1964, as the date for the opening of the meeting.

The organization of the Meeting of Consultation and its deliberations were governed by the Regulations of the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs to Serve as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, approved by the Council of the Organization of American States at the meeting held on July 29, 1960.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 15 of the Regulations of the Meeting, a closed preliminary session was held on the morning of July 21. On that occasion, the matters to be dealt with at the opening session were considered, and the order of precedence of the members of this Meeting of Consultation was established by lot, as follows:

Chile: His Excellency Mr. Julio Philipp Izquierdo, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Colombia: His Excellency Mr. Fernando Gómez Martínez, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Bolivia: His Excellency Mr. Fernando Iturza-Ginell, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship.

Guatemala: His Excellency Mr. Alberto Herrarte González, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Venezuela: His Excellency Mr. Ignacio Iribarren Borges, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Brazil: His Excellency Mr. Vasco Leitão da Cunha Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

El Salvador: His Excellency Mr. Héctor Escobar Serrano Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Uruguay: His Excellency Mr. Alejandro Zorrilla de San Martín Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dominican Republic: His Excellency Mr. José A. Bonilla Atilas Special Delegate.

Ecuador: His Excellency Mr. Gonzalo Escudero Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Costa Rica: His Excellency Mr. Daniel Oduer Quirós Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Paraguay: His Excellency Mr. Raúl Sapena Pastor Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Haiti: His Excellency Mr. René Chalmers Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Worship.

Nicaragua: His Excellency Mr. Alfonso Ortega Urbina Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Panama: His Excellency Mr. Galileo Solís Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mexico: His Excellency Mr. Vicente Sánchez Gavito Special Delegate.

Peru: His Excellency Mr. Fernando Schwalb-López-Aldana Minister of Foreign Affairs.

United States of America: His Excellency Mr. Dean Rusk Secretary of State.

Argentina: His Excellency Mr. Miguel Angel Zavala Ortiz Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship.

Honduras: His Excellency Mr. Jorge Fidel Durón Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Finding it necessary to return to his country, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Peru, by note dated July 23, 1964, addressed to the Secretary General of the Meeting, appointed Mr. Celso Pastor de la Torre, Peruvian Am-

bassador to the United States of America, as Special Delegate to the Meeting.

Mr. José Rolz-Bennett also participated in the Meeting as representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

In accordance with Article 27 of the Regulations, on July 21, the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, Mr. José A. Mora, installed the opening session, at which His Excellency Mr. Vasco Leitão da Cunha, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, was elected President of the Meeting. At the same session, His Excellency Mr. Galileo Solís, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Panama, was elected Vice President of the Meeting. In accordance with the same article, Mr. William Sanders, Secretary of the Council of the Organization of American States, acted as Secretary General of the Meeting. Mr. Santiago Ortiz, Director of the Office of Council and Conference Secretariat Services, acted as Assistant Secretary General.

His Excellency Mr. Vasco Leitão da Cunha, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, and His Excellency Mr. Alejandro Zorrilla de San Martín, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, addressed the inaugural session held on the same date.

In accordance with the Regulations, the Meeting appointed a Credentials Committee composed of the Foreign Ministers of Peru, Uruguay, and Nicaragua. It also appointed a Style Committee composed of representatives of Colombia, Brazil, Haiti, and the United States of America.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 20 of the Regulations, a General Committee was formed, composed of all the members and charged with considering the topics and submitting their conclusions to a plenary session of the Meeting for approval. His Excellency Mr. Fernando Gómez Martínez, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Colombia, and His Excellency Mr. Miguel Angel Zavala Ortiz, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, were designated as Chairman and Rapporteur of the General Committee, respectively.

This Final Act was signed at the closing session held on July 26. His Excellency Mr. Gonzalo Escudero, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, and His Excellency Mr. Vasco Leitão da Cunha, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, President of the Meeting, addressed the same session.

As the result of its deliberations, the Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, approved the following resolutions and declarations:

I. APPLICATION OF MEASURES TO THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF CUBA

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

Having seen the report of the Investigating Committee designated on December 3, 1963, by the Council of the Organization of American States, acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation, and

Considering: That the said report establishes among its conclusions that "the Republic of Venezuela has been the target of a series of actions sponsored and directed by the Government of Cuba, openly intended to subvert Venezuelan institutions and to overthrow the democratic Government of Venezuela through terrorism, sabotage, assault, and guerrilla warfare," and

That the aforementioned acts, like all acts of intervention and aggression, conflict with the principles and aims of the Inter-American system,

Resolves:

1. To declare that the acts verified by the Investigating Committee constitute an aggression and an intervention on the part

of the Government of Cuba in the internal affairs of Venezuela, which affects all of the member states.

2. To condemn emphatically the present Government of Cuba for its acts of aggression and of intervention against the territorial inviolability, the sovereignty, and the political independence of Venezuela.

3. To apply, in accordance with the provisions of Articles 6 and 8 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the following measures:

(a) That the governments of the American states not maintain diplomatic or consular relations with the Government of Cuba;

(b) That the governments of the American states suspend all their trade, whether direct or indirect, with Cuba, except in foodstuffs, medicines, and medical equipment that may be sent to Cuba for humanitarian reasons; and

(c) That the governments of the American states suspend all sea transportation between their countries and Cuba, except for such transportation as may be necessary for reasons of a humanitarian nature.

4. To authorize the Council of the Organization of American States, by an affirmative vote of two thirds of its members, to discontinue the measures adopted in the present resolution at such time as the Government of Cuba shall have ceased to constitute a danger to the peace and security of the hemisphere.

5. To warn the Government of Cuba that if it should persist in carrying out acts that possess characteristics of aggression and intervention against one or more of the member States of the Organization, the member states shall preserve their essential rights as sovereign states by the use of self-defense in either individual or collective form, which could go so far as resort to armed force, until such time as the Organ of Consultation takes measures to guarantee the peace and security of the hemisphere.

6. To urge those states not members of the Organization of American States that are animated by the same ideals as the Inter-American system to examine the possibility of effectively demonstrating their solidarity in achieving the purposes of this resolution.

7. To instruct the Secretary General of the Organization of American States to transmit to the United Nations Security Council the text of the present resolution, in accordance with the provisions of Article 54 of the United Nations Charter.

II. DECLARATION TO THE PEOPLE OF CUBA

Whereas:

The preamble to the Charter of the Organization of American States declares that, "the historic mission of America is to offer to man a land of liberty, and a favorable environment for the development of his personality and the realization of his just aspirations"; and that "the true significance of American solidarity and good neighborliness can only mean the consolidation on this continent, within the framework of democratic institutions, of a system of individual liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man";

The Charter of the Organization declares that the the solidarity of the American states and the high purposes toward which it is dedicated demand that the political organization of these states be based on the effective exercise of representative democracy;

The Charter also proclaims "the fundamental rights of the individual" and reaffirms that the "education of peoples should be directed toward justice, freedom, and peace";

The Declaration of Santiago, Chile, adopted by the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and signed by the present Cuban Government, proclaimed that the faith of peoples of

1964

America in the effective exercise of representative democracy is the best vehicle for the promotion of their social and political progress (Resolution XCV of the Tenth Inter-American Conference), while well-planned and intensive development of the economies of the American countries and improvement in the standard of living of their peoples represent the best and firmest foundation on which the practical exercise of democracy and the stabilization of their institutions can be established;

The Ninth International Conference of American States condemned "the methods of every system tending to suppress political and civil rights and liberties, and in particular the action of international communism or any other totalitarian doctrine";

The present Government of Cuba, identifying itself with the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology, has established a political, economic, and social system alien to the democratic and Christian traditions of the American family of nations and contrary to the principles of juridical organization upon which rest the security and peaceful harmonious relations of the peoples of the hemisphere; and

The exclusion of the present Government of Cuba from participation in the inter-American system, by virtue of the provisions of Resolution VI of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, by no means signifies any intention to deny the Cuban people their rightful place in the community of American peoples;

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, Declares:

That the free peoples of the Americas are convinced that the inter-American system offers to the Cuban people unequalled conditions for the realization of their ideals of peace, liberty, and social and economic progress;

That the peoples belonging to the Inter-American system are in complete sympathy with the Cuban people in all their sufferings, in the face of the total loss of their liberty both in the spiritual domain and in the social and economic field, the denial of their most elementary human rights, the burden of their persecutions, and the destruction of a legal system that was open to improvement and that offered the possibility of stability; and

That, within this spirit of solidarity, the free peoples of America cannot and must not remain indifferent to or uninterested in the fate of the noble Cuban people, which is oppressed by a dictatorship that renounces the Christian and democratic traditions of the American peoples; and in consequence

Expresses:

1. Its profound concern for the fate of the brother people of Cuba.

2. Its deepest hope that the Cuban people, strengthened by confidence in the solidarity with them of the other American peoples and governments, will be able, by their own endeavor, very soon to liberate themselves from the tyranny of the Communist regime that oppresses them and to establish in that country a government freely elected by the will of the people that will assure respect for fundamental human rights.

3. Its firm conviction that the emphatic condemnation of the policy of the present Cuban Government of aggression and intervention against Venezuela will be taken by the people of Cuba as a renewed stimulus for its hope there will come to prevail in that country a climate of freedom that will offer to man in Cuba a favorable environment for the development of his personality and the realization of his just aspirations.

III. REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COORDINATION

Whereas:

The objectives of liberty and democracy that inspire the Inter-American system, threatened as they are by communist subversion, cannot be fully attained if the peoples of the states that compose it lack adequate and sufficient means for bringing about vigorous social progress and better standards of living;

The persistence of a situation in which the world is divided into areas of poverty and plenty is a serious obstacle to any possibility that may present itself in the American hemisphere for achieving an economically more just society;

Harmonious and decisive action is indispensable, in both the regional and the international spheres, to combat the causes of economic underdevelopment and social backwardness, since prosperity and world peace based on the freedom of man cannot be achieved unless all the American countries attain equality in the economic and social field;

In particular, the continued existence of such a State of underdevelopment and poverty among large sectors of mankind, which becomes more acute in spite of the world increase in wealth and the advance of science and technology from which these sectors cannot derive full benefit; encourages the subversive action of international communism;

The countries of Latin America expressed their aspirations in the Charter of Alta Gracia and declared their determined intention to work together to build a better world in which there will be a more equitable distribution of income;

The Conference on Trade and Development, held recently in Geneva, provided a forum for a full discussion of the problems of international economics and established the basis for adequate solutions to problems arising in the fields of raw materials, manufactured products, and international financing; and

The instruments adopted at the two aforementioned meetings supplement and perfect those signed at the Special Meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council held at Punta del Este in August 1961, and especially, the Charter of Punta del Este,

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

Declares: That the aims of unity and peace with liberty and democracy pursued in the struggle against international communism, which threatens the stability of the institutions of the inter-American system and of the countries that compose it, must be achieved by eliminating those obstacles that hinder social progress and economic development, and

Resolves:

1. To reaffirm the determined will of their peoples to work, in the regional and international spheres, for the achievement of the objectives expressed in the Charter of Alta Gracia and at the Conference on Trade and Development, which are in line with the aims and purposes of the Alliance for Progress.

2. To request the Inter-American Economic and Social Council to continue the necessary studies in order to find adequate solutions to the problems involved.

IV. DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AMONG THE MEMBER STATES

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

Resolves: To transmit to the Council of the Organization of American States the

draft resolution "Diplomatic Relations Among the Member States," presented by the Delegation of Argentina (Document No. 30, Rev. 2).

V. VOTE OF RECOGNITION

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

Resolves: To congratulate His Excellency Mr. Vasco Leitão da Cunha, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, on the wise and intelligent manner in which he guided the deliberations of the Meeting.

VI. VOTE OF THANKS

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

Resolves:

1. To express to His Excellency Mr. José A. Mora, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, its appreciation for all the attentions and courtesies extended to the delegates in connection with this Meeting.

2. To place on record its gratitude to the Secretary General of the Meeting, Mr. William Sanders, and to all who collaborated with him, for the manner in which the advisory and secretariat services of the Meeting were organized and carried out.

3. To offer its appreciation to the hemisphere and world press and other information media for the efficient service they rendered to the Meeting.

STATEMENTS

Statement of Chile

The Delegation of Chile abstained from voting on paragraphs 1 and 2 of the operative part of Resolution I, because of its doubts regarding the legality of the use of the term "aggression" in describing the acts. It voted negatively on paragraph 3, because it is firmly convinced that the measures agreed to are not appropriate to the particular case that has brought about the application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. It also voted against paragraph 5, because it believes that there are discrepancies between the provisions of that paragraph and those of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations and of Article 3 of the Rio Treaty. With reference to its abstention on paragraph 6, its attitude is consistent with the attitude taken with respect to the measures called for in paragraph 3.

The Delegation of Chile abstained from voting on the Declaration to the People of Cuba since, although agreeing with its basic content, it maintains relations with the Republic of Cuba and since it believes precisely in the principle of nonintervention, it has deemed it preferable not to give positive support to this resolution.

Statement of Mexico

The Delegation of Mexico wishes to make it a matter of record in the Final Act, that the Government of Mexico:

1. Is convinced that the measures provided for in the third paragraph of the operative part of Resolution I (which the Delegation of Mexico voted against) lack foundation inasmuch as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance does not envisage, in any part, the application of such measures in situations of the kind and nature dealt with by this Meeting of Consultation.

2. Makes a specific reservation to the fifth paragraph of the operative part of the same resolution since it endeavors to extend, in such a way as to be incompatible with the provisions of Articles 3 and 10 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the right to individual or collective self-defense.

3. Reiterates without reservations its "will to cooperate permanently in the fulfillment of the principles and purposes of a policy of peace," to which "is essentially related" the "obligation of mutual assistance and common defense of the American Republics," in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of the preamble of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.

In witness whereof, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs sign the present Final Act.

Done in the Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., United States of America, in the four official languages of the Organization, on July twenty-six, nineteen hundred sixty-four. The Secretary General shall deposit the original of the Final Act in the archives of the Pan American Union, which will transmit the authenticated copies thereof to the governments of the American republics.

For Chile:
For Colombia:
For Bolivia:
For Guatemala:
For Venezuela:
For Brazil:
For El Salvador:
For Uruguay:
For the Dominican Republic:
For Ecuador:
For Costa Rica:
For Paraguay:
For Haiti:
For Nicaragua:
For Panama:
For Mexico:
For Peru:
For the United States of America:
For Argentina:
For Honduras:

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I shall not take the time to read the entire act. I wanted to read the section that dealt with the so-called sanctions, about which there was so much public discussion in the press and elsewhere.

In closing, I not only again extend my congratulations and compliments to the Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, but from my desk today I want to say that not only all the United States but all the free nations of the Western Hemisphere are indebted to Secretary Rusk and to each of the other Foreign Ministers who sat through the days of this historic debate and Foreign Ministers Conference.

Let us not overlook the fact that what has happened in Washington, D.C., in regard to a great crisis which is developing in the Western Hemisphere, the Foreign Ministers of the member countries of the Organization of American States did resort to the rule of law. They did in this conference resort to existing treaties for a determination of their differences. They did meet around the conference table to seek to apply the international law commitments which each member of the Organization of American States previously had committed itself to follow.

It was a great satisfaction to see my country participate in such a kind of international conference and join in applying the rules and the principles of international law to a threat to the peace in the Western Hemisphere.

It was right to do it in this instance. I respectfully say that is the way at least to try to resolve every crisis that threatens the peace of the world.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to commend the distinguished Senator from Oregon for the remarks he made

today about the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States, held in Washington.

I am delighted that the Senate was represented by two such outstanding Members of the Senate as the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], both of whom have made a special avocation and study of our relations with all the countries of Latin America.

As I look back on the results of this hemispheric meeting, I believe that they will rank not only with Punta del Este, but above it in what was accomplished. I am delighted that this report has been made this afternoon. I am delighted because it brings to the attention of the Senate at first hand by one of our representatives what happened there. It is also proof of the fact that under law much can be accomplished, and that what happened in the conference was accomplished under law.

DISCLOSURE OF FINANCIAL INTEREST AND ENUMERATION OF CERTAIN PROHIBITED ACTIVITIES

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution (S. Res. 337) to provide disclosure of financial interest and to enumerate certain prohibited activities.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation on the pending measure after the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] makes his opening statement, that limitation to be 1 hour on each amendment and 2 hours on the resolution.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may clarify the request?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. CASE. It is my understanding that the Senator from Pennsylvania will offer, on his behalf and on my own, a substitute for the amendment now pending, offered by the Senator from Delaware. How would the suggested limitation apply to the substitute amendment?

Mr. CLARK. For my part—and I conferred with the majority leader about this point—I would make an opening statement on the amendment of the Senator from New Jersey and myself. I would be happy during my statement to yield to the Senator from New Jersey or any other Senator after I have concluded my opening statement, which would be in about a half hour. Then the unanimous consent agreement would take effect.

Mr. CASE. Would it be possible to allot 15 minutes to the Senator from New Jersey out of the time within the limited period?

Mr. CLARK. I believe so. If not, I am sure time can be taken from the time on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The limitation to include motions, as well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The limitation begins after the distinguished Senator

from Pennsylvania concludes his opening statement.

Mr. CLARK. And he yields the floor.

Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] and myself I send to the desk an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the amendment offered by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS]. I ask that the amendment be not read, but printed in the RECORD at this point. I can explain it very briefly, and much more succinctly than if it were read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

AMENDMENT No. —

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. CLARK and Mr. CASE to S. Res. 337, a resolution to provide disclosure of financial interests and to enumerate certain prohibited activities, as a substitute to the amendment of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS]

Beginning with line 6, page 1, strike out all to and including line 14, page 5, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"1. Each individual who at any time during any calendar year serves as a Member of the Senate, or as an officer or employee of the Senate compensated at a gross rate in excess of \$10,000 per annum, shall file with the Secretary of the Senate for that calendar year a written report containing the following information:

"(a) The fair market value of each asset having a fair market value of \$5,000 or more held by him or by his spouse, or by him and his spouse jointly, exclusive of any dwelling occupied as a residence by him or by members of his immediate family, at the end of that calendar year;

"(b) The amount of each liability in excess of \$5,000 owed by him or by his spouse, or by him and his spouse jointly at the end of that calendar year;

"(c) The total amount of all capital gains realized in excess of \$5,000, and the source and amount of each capital gain realized in any amount exceeding \$5,000, during that calendar year by him, by his spouse, by him and his spouse jointly, or by any person acting on behalf or pursuant to the direction of him or his spouse, or him and his spouse jointly, as a result of any transaction or series of related transactions in securities or commodities, or any purchase or sale of real property or any interest therein other than a dwelling occupied as a residence by him or by members of his immediate family;

"(d) The source and amount of each item of income, each item of reimbursement for any expenditure, and each gift or aggregate of gifts from one source (other than gifts received from any relative or his spouse) received by or accruing to him, his spouse, or to him and his spouse jointly from any source other than the United States during that calendar year, which exceeds \$100 in amount or value; including any fee or other honorarium received by him for or in connection with the preparation or delivery of any speech or address, attendance at any convention or other assembly of individuals, or the preparation of any article or other composition for publication, and the monetary value of subsistence, entertainment, travel, or other facilities received by him in kind;

"(e) The name and address of any professional firm which engages in practice before any department, agency or instrumentality of the United States in which he has a financial interest; and the name, address, and a brief description of the principal business of any client of such firm for whom any services involving representation before any department, agency or instrumentality